

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 TOKYO 08655 01 OF 02 101042Z
ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02
SS-15 USIA-06 OES-07 EB-07 /081 W
-----101214Z 016525 /12

R 100945Z JUN 77
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8536
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY SEOUL
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI
USLO PEKING
AMCONSUL HONG KONG
COMUSJAPAN YOKOTA AB JAPAN
CINCPAC HONOLULU

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 TOKYO 8655

CINCPAC ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: JS, SU, CH, PFOR, PINS
SUBJECT: RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE TOKYO-MOSCOW-PEKING TRIANGLE

REF: TOKYO 7988 (NOTAL)

SUMMARY: PAST WEEK PROVIDED USEFUL ILLUSTRATION OF JAPANESE EFFORTS TO BALANCE ITS RELATIONS WITH BOTH SOVIETS AND CHINESE AS WELL AS RELATED DOMESTIC POLITICAL INTERPLAY. FRESH HINTS BY FUKUDA GOVERNMENT, PRESUMABLY FOR DOMESTIC POLITICAL PURPOSES, THAT IT MIGHT BE PREPARED TO MOVE FORWARD ON LONG DELAYED TREATY WITH CHINA BROUGHT FORTH IMMEDIATE CRITICISM FROM CONSERVATIVE QUARTERS OF LDP CAUSING FUKUDA TO BACK OFF. AT SAME TIME, BOTH FUKUDA GOVERNMENT AND SOVIETS BEGAN TO REPAIR RELATIONS AFTER STRAIN OF THIS SPRING'S FISHERIES DISPUTE. END SUMMARY.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 TOKYO 08655 01 OF 02 101042Z

1. JAPAN AND CHINA: WITH INTERIM FISHERIES AGREEMENT WITH SOVIETS FINALLY SIGNED AND RATIFICATION OF KOREAN CONTINENTAL SHELF AGREEMENT ASSURED BY DIET EXTENSION, ATTENTION IN JAPANESE PRESS AND POLITICAL CIRCLES HAS SHIFTED DURING PAST WEEK TO JAPAN-CHINA PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP TREATY (PFT) AS NEXT PENDING FOREIGN POLICY ISSUE TO BE RESOLVED. FREQUENT THEME NOW HEARD HAS BEEN THAT PFT SHOULD BE CONCLUDED BY FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF SINO-JAPANESE

NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS THIS SEPTEMBER 29.

2. REF A DESCRIBED INCREASED FREQUENCY AND WARMTH OF RECENT CONTACTS BETWEEN TOKYO AND PEKING WHICH HAVE CONVEYED AT LEAST IMPRESSION IF NOT ACTUAL SUBSTANCE OF IMPENDING MOVEMENT TOWARDS CLOSER BILATERAL TIES. THIS IMPRESSION WAS STRENGTHENED BY PM FUKUDA'S COMMENTS TO PRESS AT HIMEJI ON MAY 29. FUKUDA INDICATED THAT HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD NOW CONCENTRATE ITS DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS ON EXPEDITING CONCLUSION OF PFT. HE ALLED ATTENTION TO POSSIBLE VISIT TO PEKING OF PFT-ADVOCATE LOWER HOUSE SPEAKER SHIGERU HORI AFTER END OF DIET SESSION AND RAISED POSSIBILITY HORI MIGHT CARRY PERSONAL LETTER FROM PM TO CHINESE LEADERSHIP PROPOSING RESUMPTION OF TALKS ON PFT.

3. FUKUDA WAS NOT EXPLICIT ON PRECISELY HOW DEADLOCK WITH CHINESE ON PFT MIGHT BE RESOLVED, BUT OPTIMISTIC TONE OF HIS REMARKS WAS TAKEN BY MANY JAPANESE POLITICAL COMMENTATORS TO SUGGEST GOJ WAS NOW PREPARED TO MAKE CONCESSIONS ON ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE. THERE WAS GENERAL ASSUMPTION THAT DESIRE TO REAP POLITICAL BENEFITS IN JULY 10 UPPER HOUSE ELECTION WAS PRIME MOTIVE BEHIND FUKUDA'S STATEMENT. SIMILAR MOTIVE PRESUMABLY ALSO ACCOUNTED FOR CALL FOR EARLY PFT BY DIETMEN'S JAPAN-CHINA FRIENDSHIP LEAGUE, WITH MEMBERSHIP FROM ALL PARTIES SAVE JCP, AND EFFORT TO CONVERT PROPOSED HORI VISIT INTO SUPRA-PARTISAN DIET DELEGATION.

4. TOKYO PRESS QUICKLY FOLLOWED UP ON PM FUKUDA'S COMMENTS WITH SPATE OF SPECULATIVE ARTICLES. YOMIURI JOURNALIST EONOFF TOLD EMBOFF MOMENTUM WAS BUILDING WITHIN GOVERNMENT TOWARDS ACTION ON CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 TOKYO 08655 01 OF 02 101042Z

PFT, AND NOTED THAT FONMIN MIYAZAWA, SYMBOLIC AUTHOR OF GOJ STANCE ON ANTI-HEGEMONY, NOW SAW TREATY WITH PRC AS POSSIBLE. NIHON KEIZAI REPORTED THAT FUKUDA HAD INFORMED JSP POLITICIANS THAT GOJ WAS NOW PREPARED TO ACCEPT CHINESE POSITION ON ANTI-HEGEMONY. (ARTICLE WAS PUBLICLY DENIED BY GOJ SPOKESMAN, AND JSP SOURCE ALSO INFORMED EMBOFF IT WAS FALSE, BUT IT MAY POSSIBLY HAVE BEEN TRIAL BALLON TO TEST CURRENT PFT SENTIMENT.)

5. CONSERVATIVE QUARTERS OF LDP, ALTHOUGH IRONICALLY FUKUDA'S POWER BASE WITHIN PARTY, HAVE REACTED SHARPLY. LDP ELDER ETSUSABURO SHIINA CRITICIZED FUKUDA'S MAY 29 STATEMENT AS "TOO ABRUPT" -- SENTIMENT APPARENTLY SHARED BY FORMER LDP SECGEN NAKASONE. LONG DORMANT "YOUNG HAWKS" OF LDP'S SEIRANKAI HAVE CALLED FOR "FULL DEBATE" ON CHINA TREATY.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 TOKYO 08655 02 OF 02 101205Z

ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02

SS-15 USIA-06 OES-07 EB-07 /081 W

-----101213Z 017334 /43

R 100945Z JUN 77

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8537

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY SEOUL

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

USLO PEKING

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

COMUSJAPAN YOKOTA AB JAPAN

CINCPAC HONOLULU

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 TOKYO 8655

CINCPAC ALSO FOR POLAD

6. AS RESULT OF THIS CRITICISM PM BACKED OFF IN JUNE 3 PRESS CONFERENCE, NOTING THAT HE HAD NOT PERSONALLY REQUESTED HORI TO VISIT CHINA AND THAT HE WOULD SEND LETTER TO CHINESE LEADERSHIP ONLY IF IT WERE "NECESSARY." FOLLOWING JUNE 7 MEETING WITH PRO-TAIWAN LDP ELDERS, INCLUDING FUKUDA MENTOR AND FORMER PRIMIN KISHI, FUKUDA FURTHER ANNOUNCED THAT HE WOULD EXERCISE "PRUDENCE" IN PROMOTING PFT NEGOTIATIONS. AN IRRITATED HORI IN TURN TOLD PRESS HE WOULD NOT ACT AS GO-BETWEEN WITH CHINESE LEADERSHIP UNLESS FUKUDA MADE DEFINITE DECISION TO CONCLUDE TREATY, THEREBY CASTING DOUBT ON VISIT ITSELF. FUKUDA'S WAVERING ALSO LED TO SCUTTLING OF LONG-PLANNED DIET RESOLUTION FAVORING EARLY CONCLUSION OF PFT. ONE SENIOR PRO-PFT OHIRA FACTION MEMBER, IN CONVERSATION WITH EMBOFF, AGRILY QUESTIONED FUKUDA'S STATESMANSHIP, AND NLC CHAIRMAN YOHEI KONO ALSO TOLD EMBOFFS HE WAS CONVINCED LDP COULD NEVER OVERCOME ITS PRO ROK-ROC BIAS. UPSHOT OF ALL THIS IS TO CAST DOUBT ON WHETHER NEW GOJ INITIATIVES ARE
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 TOKYO 08655 02 OF 02 101205Z

CURRENTLY IN OFFING.

7. JAPAN AND SOVIET UNION. AT SAME TIME, BOTH JAPAN AND SOVIET UNION HAVE BEGUN EFFORTS TO REPAIR RELATIONS FOLLOWING STRAINS

OF THIS SPRING'S FISHERIES NEGOTIATIONS. ON JUNE 1, AMBASSADOR POLYANSKY DELIVERED TO PM FUKUDA ANODYNE LETTER FROM BREZHNEV EXPRESSING SOVIET LEADER'S PERSONAL HOPES FOR IMPROVED BILATERAL RELATIONS IN SPIRIT OF MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING. IN RESPONSE, FUKUDA NOTED THAT ALTHOUGH "THORNY PROBLEMS," I.E., NORTHERN TERRITORIES, REMAINED UNRESOLVED, THIS SHOULD NOT IMPAIR CLOSER ECONOMIC AND TRADE RELATIONS.

8. EARLIER SOVIET FOREIGN TRADE MINISTER PATOLICHEV AND FONMIN HATOYAMA SIGNED FIVE-YEAR EXTENSION OF BILATERAL TRADE AND PAYMENTS AGREEMENT (REF B), FORMER'S MERE APPEARANCE IN TOKYO BEING SIGN OF IMPROVED BILATERAL ATMOSPHERICS. (ORIGINALLY SCHEDULED TO VISIT JAPAN LAST FALL, PATOLICHEV'S VISIT HAD BEEN REPEATEDLY POSTPONED AS FIRST MIG-25 INCIDENT AND THEN FISHERIES DISPUTE BROUGHT ABOUT DETERIORATION OF RELATIONS.) WHILE BOTH FONOFF AND MITI REPORTEDLY STONE-WALLED PATOLICHEV'S FAMILIAR SUGGESTIONS OF LONG-TERM ECONOMIC COOPERATION AGREEMENT, LOCAL SOVIET COUNSELOR CHARACTERIZED VISIT TO EMBOFFS AS SUCCESSFUL AND PERSONALLY OBSERVED THAT LONG-TERM AGREEMENT WAS NOT REALLY NECESSARY FOR EXPANSION OF BILATERAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION.

9. FOR ITS PART, FUKUDA GOVERNMENT HAS SIGNALLED ITS INTENTION TO MEND TIES WITH SOVIETS THROUGH PROPOSED VISIT TO MOSCOW OF LABOR MINISTER HIROHIDE ISHIDA IN MID-JUNE FOLLOWING HIS PARTICIPATION IN ILO CONFERENCE IN GENEVA. ISHIDA, HEAD OF DIET JAPAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP ASSOCIATION, AND LONG A KEY CONTACT MAN BETWEEN SOVIETS AND LDP ESTABLISHMENT, IN 1973 ACTED AS ADVANCE MAN FOR THEN-PM TANAKA'S MEETINGS WITH BREZHNEV IN MOSCOW. DURING RECENT FISHERIES DISPUTE, ISHIDA KEPT VERY LOW-PROFILE, BUT APPARENTLY MAINTAINED HIS CONTACTS WITH SOVIET AMBASSADOR. ISHIDA HAS TOLD PRESS THAT HE WOULD SEEK EXCHANGE OF VIEWS WITH TOP SOVIET LEADERSHIP ON WIDE RANGE OF TOPICS. HE MIGHT ALSO

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 TOKYO 08655 02 OF 02 101205Z

CARRY FUKUDA RESPONSE TO JUNE 1 BREZHNEV LETTER. ISHIDA'S STOP-OVER IN MOSCOW WILL BE FOLLOWED BY VISIT OF KEIDANREN PRESIDENT DOKO.

10. LOCAL SOVIET EMBASSY HAS ALSO POINTED TO RECENT REPLY BY BREZHNEV TO WRITTEN QUESTIONS OF ASAHI JOURNALIST SHORYU HATA, FIRST SUCH DETAILED "INTERVIEW" GRANTED JAPANESE JOURNALIST, AS INDICATION OF SOVIET DESIRE FOR BETTER RELATIONS. IN INTERVIEW, SOVIET LEADER NOTED THAT INASMUCH AS JAPANESE WERE PRESENTLY UNABLE TO CONCLUDE PEACE TREATY WITH SOVIET UNION, "TREATY OF GOOD-NEIGHBORLY COOPERATION" SHOULD BE NEGOTIATED AS INTERIM STEP. DESPITE WHATEVER FRIENDLY SOVIET INTENTIONS BEHIND RESPONSE, ASAHI COMMENTARY READ BREZHNEV'S ATTITUDE AND STATEMENTS ON JAPANESE TERRITORIAL AND FISHERIES CLAIMS AS "EXTREMELY SEVERE."

11. BAD AFTERTASTE OF RECENT NEGOTIATIONS APPARENT FROM GRUMBLING IN BOTH LDP AND OPPOSITION PARTIES THAT GOVERNMENT RESPONSES TO DIET INTERPELLATIONS ON INTERIM AGREEMENT SUGGEST FURTHER WEAKENING OF JAPANESE CLAIM TO DISPUTED NORTH TERRITORIES. (AGREEMENT WAS UNANIMOUSLY APPROVED JUNE 1.)

12. COMMENT: PARRALLEL VISITS OF ISHIDA TO MOSCOW AND HORI TO PEKING (IF IT COMES OFF) PROVIDE USEFUL ILLUSTRATION OF GOJ'S CONTINUED EFFORTS TO BALANCE ITS RELATIONS BETWEEN SOVIETS AND CHINESE. NEITHER PM FUKUDA NOR FONOFF POLICY-MAKERS APPEAR TO PERCEIVE ANY SIGNIFICANT DIPLOMATIC ADVANTAGE FOR JAPAN IN CHANG-WING THIS POLICY AT THIS TIME. WHILE THIS DIPLOMATIC-BALANCING ACT IS SKEWED BY RELATIVELY FAVORABLE POPULAR IMAGE OF CHINA AND STILL SIMMERING RESENTMENT OF SOVIETS, REFLECTED IN FREQUENCY OF VISITS TO PEKING BY JAPANESE POLITICIANS OF BOTH LDP AND OPPOSITION PARTIES, THERE REMAIN STRONG REASONS FOR FUKUDA TO RESIST TEMPTATION OF SIGNING PFT IN IMMEDIATE FUTURE:

-- SOVIET LEVERAGE OVER JAPAN DID NOT DISAPPEAR WITH COMPLETION OF NEGOTIATIONS OF INTERIM FISHERIES AGREEMENT, E.G., GOJ MUST ENTER INTO NEGOTIATIONS ON FINAL FISHERIES AGREEMENT IN NEAR CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 TOKYO 08655 02 OF 02 101205Z

FUTURE.

-- AS LONG AS PFT CAN ONLY BE SIGNED THROUGH COMPLETE AND PUBLIC CONCESSION TO CHINESE DEMANDS, GOJ WILL FACE SOME LEVEL OF DOMESTIC CRITICISM FOR CAPITULATION AND INEFFECTIVE DIPLOMACY.

13. FACED WITH THESE CONSIDERATIONS AS HE HEADS INTO JULY 10 ELECTION, IT IS LIKELY FUKUDA WILL CONTINUE TO TEST THE WATERS WHILE SEEKING TO CONVEY IMPRESSION OF POSITIVE MOVEMENT, BUT UNLESS THERE IS SUDDEN FLEXIBILITY ON PART OF CHINESE OR AN UNLIKELY SIGNAL THAT PFT NO LONGER MATTERS TO MOSCOW, IT IS DOUBTFUL THERE WILL BE REAL PROGRESS TOWARDS CONCLUSION OF SINO-JAPANESE PFT IN NEAR FUTURE.
MANSFIELD

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN RELATIONS, AGREEMENTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 10-Jun-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977TOKYO08655
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770207-0851
Format: TEL
From: TOKYO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770667/aaaacgse.tel
Line Count: 263
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 1267e57e-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 77 TOKYO 7988
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 12-Jan-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2187863
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE TOKYO-MOSCOW-PEKING TRIANGLE
TAGS: PFOR, PINS, JA, UR, CH
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/1267e57e-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009